/172 cont./
782 wine bowl, water bowl, and other things have to be thoroughly washed before they can be taken into the house.

(13) The White Tiger

[755] The reason, the place, the ritual, and the arrangements are the same as those for the "Five Kuei," except no eggs are used for sacrifice.

(14) Expelling Evil Influences

[755] The reason, the place, the ritual, and the arrangements are the same as those for the "White Tiger."

(15) Expelling the Kuei of Quarrels

[755] [578] [774] In the event of sickness or of encountering a kuei's mischief, or a quarrel with someone, a sorcerer-priest is asked to come to the house to expel the kuei of quarrels. If one inadvertently walks into a house where this performance is going on, as soon as he becomes aaware of this, he also has to hold a [171] performance to expel the kuei of quarrels. When a Chinese runs into this situation, he does not have to avoid it. Therefore, [570] [609] when a Miao happens to go to the house of someone whom he does not know well, he must first ask before entering: "Is it all right to come in?" He must wait for the reply, "It is all right to come in," before he enters. This is not so much to get permission from the master of the house, as that he is afraid of running into an untoward situation whereby he will have to spend money for the kuei, and so he is doubly careful.

For the ritual for expelling the kuei of quarrels, they spread out rice straw under the eaves outside the house during the daytime. On the straw are set up five cups of wine, five piles of mi-pa, with the middle pile having three sticks of

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

PREFACE

This article is the result of about fifteen years of study and contact with the Ch'uan Miao 川苗 people. 121

I first learned of the Ch'uan Miao in 1921 through a Hua Miao 花苗 who came to Suifu 叙府 during a famine. Soon after that I visited the Ch'uan Miao near Lo Piao 洛表 and at Chou Chia Kou 周家溝 and a Ch'uan Miao boy, Yang Fêng Chang 楊鳳章, came with me to Suifu where, with my help, he studied in and graduated from the Bap ist junior and senior primary schools. After that he was my almost constant companion and went with me on nearly all my expeditions on the China-Tibetan border. From him I learned something of the Ch'uan Miao language and customs.

On returning to Szechwan in 1932 as curator of the West China Union University Museum of Archaeology, I made a more determined effort to learn about the Ch'uan Miao. Yang Fêng Chang spent much time with me at Chengtu and after his tragic death, while hunting takin, I made three summer expeditions to the Ch'uan Miao region, and another in the spring of 1936 to Suifu when several Ch'uan Miao came out and assisted me in my study.

Since the summer of 1934 much help has been given me by Mr. Hsiung Ch'ao Sung 熊朝嵩, a Ch'uan Miao who formerly lived in northern Yunnan but now lives at Wang Wu Chai 王武寨 near Lo Piao. The fact that he has travelled over much of the Ch'uan Miao territory has made him a valuable assistant. The information received has been repeatedly checked, verified and often corrected through other Ch'uan Miao from Wang Wu Chai, Chou Chia Kou, Yung Ning 永寧 and from different parts of northern Yunnan.

The Ch'uan Miao generally say very little about their customs. They have informed me that in the past they have never told many of these things to anybody outside their own group but have made evasive and misinforming statements. To this day some ceremonies are performed behind closed doors, such as the worship of the door and the killing of the sow when worshiping the sky demon. The main ceremonies of commemoration are purposely confined to the Ch'uan Miao dialect so that nobody who is not a Miao can understand them. In the two ceremonies mentioned above, if one word of Chinese is spoken, the whole ceremony must be repeated. 609

I have made a sincere and earnest effort to understand the Ch'uan Miao people among whom I am considered a very good friend and by whom I have been given the complimentary name 123

[5 cont.]

181 However, due to repeated instances of swindling and oppression by
609 the Chinese, they are always on their guard and suspicious of every good motive. This discord among the racial groups is entirely the fault of the Chinese, and efforts must be made to eliminate it. Whenever I arrived at a Miao-I village I often found at first wariness and restraint on their part. I understood the cause of such psychology and persisted in dealing with them in good faith. After we came to know each other better, their fear soon gave way to warmth and friendliness, which still lingered on at the time of parting. The Miao-I district I have seen is actually a garden of harmony and happiness. It is hoped that those sympathetic to the Miao-I would continue to visit their areas to influence and help them so as to raise their standard of living to the level of the other people in China.

3. Livelihood

1) Food. The staple food of the Miao and I consists of
262 rice, corn, buckwheat, potato and huang-li [coarse rice?], varying according to localities. The mountain terrain in the northwest produces corn, buckwheat, potato and huang-li, and so so the principal food of the Miao-I people there is corn, which is eaten all year round, white potato, buckwheat and the rest are eaten only occasionally. In the southeast there are more
[243] irrigated fields in which rice is produced. The very poor people would eat corn, buckwheat and potato, while the others have both ordinary rice and glutinous rice for food, especially the latter, which is known colloquially as "the Miao glutinous rice."
[482] Often one sees a Miao or I traveling with a bamboo basket tied to the waist; this basket contains glutinous rice used as refreshment during recess from work. Usually the Miao-I eat
264 two meals a day, with an extra noon meal during the busy agricultural season. When eating at home, they place the food on a table and sit on stools around it; but sometimes they also eat outdoors, squatting or standing under the eaves. In the kind of food they have and their manner of eating, they are
262 the same as the Chinese. One difference is their fondness of

69: Lewis T-5 (1950) 1951 AM1 Indochina
Miao AE5
Shan-Thai AL3

alternating with the girls, describes in verse, to the accompaniment of *Kènes*, their possessions, their accomplishments, or their virtues. Formal offers of marriage then follow, and according to eye-witnesses of the custom, the metrical form in no way inhibits the most banal cataloguing of articles to be included in the marriage contract.

We were still eating when the chief's messenger came back with the only dog on offer. It was a poor forlorn animal, suffering probably from some wasting disease, and an enormous price was demanded.

As there was no dog to be had from these intermediaries, there was nothing for it but to go to the source itself, even if it meant another stiff climb on foot. Instead of turning left, therefore, at the junction of the main road to Luang Prabang, we took the right-hand fork towards Xien Khouang, which, although it led us out of our way, went right through the heart of Meo country in Laos. Shortly after, we came up with a Meo family, who were struggling up a hill loaded down like beasts of burden with their possessions. The Meos threw down their bundles and looked us over with puzzled amusement. One of them, who wore pigtails to show that he was the head of the family, came over, cut the choice centre out of a sugar cane he was carrying and presented it to us, roaring with laughter. This was typical Meo conduct. The Meo is grateful to strangers for amusing him with their clownish faces and ridiculous clothes, and his first impulse is to look round for something to give them. Shouting with joy, the children leaped into the car and were cuffed out again by their father. The woman who, if a Thai or a Laotian, would have stood apart with downcast eyes, bent down to examine Dupont's sandals. She wore several pounds in weight of solid silver jewellery round her neck and had had her head recently shaved.

Meo finery at its best is the most extravagantly colourful in Indo-China. The women are stiff with embroidery and heavy silver necklaces and chains, and are half-extinguished by enormous turbans that look like Chinese lanterns. But this family was in its

influence of any foreign propaganda and that their revolt did not at any time assume the character of an anti-French manifestation. Thus their uprising had no repercussions on the other ethnic groups in Laos, which in spirit and in deed stood behind our repressive measures. L M 563 669

They returned in peace to their agricultural labors (chiefly the cultivation of poppies) in their precipitous solitudes. A special administrative statute gave them the cantonal and communal autonomy which they desired, with no Laotian or Annamite intermediary. No matter how infrequent their contacts with the populations of the valleys and plains, it is quite certain that racial antagonism (exploited by agitators during the revolt) was maintaining a state of mind among their groupings which was suspicious and devoid of friendliness towards the native authorities. The reforms which were put into effect seem to have yielded good results. In the same way, a prudent policy towards the still unsubdued tribes of Lower Laos, one which will avoid direct conflict with their customs /362/ and prejudices, will gradually tame these last representatives of another age whom the opening-up of means of communication will finally incorporate into the larger Indo-Chinese family. L M 563 636 609 178 563

/ Pages 363-367 contain a Bibliography. Page 368 is blank. Pages 369-375 contain an Alphabetical Index of Names Mentioned. Page 376 is blank. --Translator/ 000

[150 cont.]

101 White Meo ("Peu-Méo")
Black Meo ("Heu-Méo")
Red Meo ("Hong-Méo")
Meo of the flowers ("Hoa-Méo")
"Méo-moung-cha"

[151] These various tribes have characters, mores, and dialects only very slightly different. They are melting little by little [184] into one another and scarcely differ except in the details of feminine costume. Hence, we shall not study them separately, as we have done for the tribes of the preceding groups, and we shall restrict ourselves to pointing out in passing the peculiarities of each of them.

142 The "Méo" men are generally of medium or small stature, robust, hardy, with strong legs, developed by the long climbs in the [147] mountains and the carrying of heavy burdens. Some "Méo" are of large stature, but these are not the toughest. The women are smaller than the men. Very sweet and graceful during their youth, they soon become very clumsy and heavy. Their breasts are extremely well [163] developed but deformed by their numerous progeny. The birth rate [165] is very high; the infant mortality, likewise.

[143] The "Méo" have very coarse, very black hair. It is not rare to find among them individuals who are blond or even albino, however.

273 The "Méo," very sober in normal times, seizes every opportunity to become drunk and to make good cheer. He often contracts [164] pulmonary diseases due to his heedlessness and to the bad conditions under which he lives.

147 It is impossible to acclimate him to low altitudes, where he immediately falls sick and rapidly becomes dispirited.

24/ The "Méo" who have established irrigated rice fields have
36/ carried out this work along high mountain valleys. Yet they do not live near these planted areas, in spite of the relatively high altitude of the latter. As soon as the daily work is finished, they climb up again to their villages, which always remain located near the summits (see photo 428, Plate 43).

157 The "Méo" is of a gay disposition, very independent, courage-
609 ous, and extremely candid. Very hospitable, he always welcomes

[151 cont.]

157 the stranger who comes to visit him and who is completely safe
609 under his roof.

The "Méo" women are gay, mirthful, only slightly shy, especially when their confidence has been gained. (One may see in photo 128, Plate 43, a European woman in the midst of a group of "Méotes," who are showing a sometimes indiscreet curiosity regarding all that has to do with the details of costume and of coiffure of strangers from the Occident.)

562 The condition of the "Méo" women is rather hard. They share in the most difficult labor.

836 The young women are not distinguished by an excess of virtue, but this fact is considered of little importance by the "Méo."

526 The young boys and the young men greatly honor exercises of skill and strength and often compete with one another in carrying heavy burdens or in racing over the mountains.

[152] The various dialects used by the "Méo" are monosyllabic.
193 As among the "Man-ta-pan" the qualifying word is placed before the noun, the subject before the verb, the direct object after the indirect.

197 It is likely that in their country of origin each "Méo" tribe used a special dialect. Among the tribes settled in Tonkin, who are very much mixed together, the dialects, which are not fixed by any writing, seem to blend together by regions and to be used in each of these regions by all the "Méo" tribes who dwell there.

[198] Almost all the "Méo" use the "kouan-hoa" as the language of
212 commerce. Literate persons are very rare. Those who know a few
[871] characters pronounce them in the Chinese fashion. The "Méo" are beginning to send their children to the schools that are being con-
[648] ducted in our frontier posts located at the high altitudes. For their dealings with the authorities and for writing their rare letters, they have recourse to the help of a literate Chinese.

538 The "Méo" have no written literature, but they know narra-
[533] tives, prayers, and some songs, which they sing in a monotonous, sad tone. They show little imagination, much simplicity and sometimes even triviality, for they particularly extol the material joys of life, of the table, and of love, the sole pleasures of a race whose

continued slow infiltration since that time. The second migration occurred in the form of a /130/ violent invasion whose floods descended as far as Phuyenbinh on the borders of the delta. The Meo, pushed back by the Annamese mandarins and also by the heaviness of the climate of the valleys, which they were unable to bear, withdrew towards the upper Claire River and settled upon the plateau of Quanba and of Dongquan. Here they made the peaceable inhabitants tremble under a yoke of domination which was as brutal as it was ephemeral. An enlightened individual named Sioung made himself noticed among the Meo because of his prodigious agility. He struck the imagination of his kinsmen by jumping in a single leap to the top of a mass of furniture that he had piled up several meters high, and proclaimed his own royalty from the top of this improvised tower supported by spirits' protection. From all of the areas roundabout they came to the mountain of Tang Chang (between Yenminh and Quanba) bringing him presents. Sioung became recognized as king under the title of Choen Tien, and had a palace built for himself surmounted by a tower called Long Vei (the dragon's throne). The Man and Nung joined with the Meo in accepting his rule, but the Tho, persisted in not recognizing him. The "King of the Meo" followed them with his hatred for twelve years. His father-in-law, whose daughter he had killed, resolved to avenge himself by killing this bloody tyrant. He sent ten Chinese friends of his to work as artists in the Palace of Sioung and the man was massacred by them a short time later.

The Chinese provinces inhabited at the present time by the Miao Tse are Szechwan, Yunnan, Kweichow. Therefore, without fear of error, we may consider these the countries of origin of the Tonkinese Meo and the reservoir from which their infiltrations will continue to flow.

The Meo ethnic group apparently is subdivided in China into seventy varieties, but the only ones found in Tonkin in groups of any considerable size are the White Meo, Red Meo, and Black Meo. As a matter of fact, this division into varieties is much less important here then among the Yao, where certain features of their customs, certain details in their religious rites, certain words of their language vary from one tribe to another. Among the Meo on the contrary, the differences are reduced to variations in details or in the colors of women's clothing.

/131/ As we have seen, the characteristic of the Meo is their

855 hard toil of the fields. Too thinly clad and fed almost exclusively
857 on maize, they remain exposed to the inclemencies of the seasons, all day long, and spend the night in a house open to every wind. This produces selection proceeding from the disappearance of the weak, but those who resist such a regimen are then able to withstand any sort of hardship.

/Between pages 136 and 137 of the text, the two following photographs appear: "White Meo women"; "Embroidered Meo women."--translator/

591 /137/ When young men of the family marry, if there are sufficient fields to cultivate around the family house, they bring their wife there and live under the authority of the father of the family. If this is not the case, they go and establish themselves in the midst of an area needing to be cleared, and undertake the task courageously.

548 The chastity of Meo women does not seem to be as unassail-
836 able as that of Tho women, and some of them shamelessly engage in prostitution, and do not have to leave their place in the family on this account. When on an inspection tour in Dongvan, I remember that I expressed my astonishment at hearing hands clap each time I passed through certain woods, which surrounded a pagoda near the post. But my astonishment gave place to stupefaction when I learned that the sacred wood was permanently haunted by young Meo girls who accorded their favors to all who came beneath its discreet shade.

[624 The number of houses which make up a hamlet rarely exceeds
361] three or four. Even then the inhabitants usually are of the same stock,
631 and the head of the hamlet is naturally enough the progenitor of the
615 family group. The various hamlets of a small valley or of a little rocky cirque are grouped under the authority of a ma phai, who is properly speaking the chief of the village. Several villages are grouped under the authority of a ping tau, who fills the role of a giap truong or district chief in an Annamese commune, and who is himself assisted in his duties by a tsa thao. Finally, the different districts are joined together to form a tribe under the orders of a tung cha who fills the role of the mayor of a Tho commune, with a still greater
631 authority. This is the type of organization which exists in Dong Quan
609 and surrounding country, when the tribe is of a certain extent. If
563 it is less important, it is headed only by a ping tau or a simple ma phai, who is under the authority of the mayor of the Tho commune

631 on which the territory occupied by the tribe is dependant. It might
609 even happen that a simple Meo hamlet was overwhelmed in the midst
563 of a population of the Tho, Nung, or Man race. The inhabitants then naturally become pariahs, who suffer from the oppression because of the mass which surrounds them, and are very much more miserable than in the midst of a tribe of their race.

631 /138/ To the south of the Red River, at Tu Le for example, the
615 terms used to designate Meo chiefs are slightly different: the ma phai is replaced by the seo phai who sometimes has an assistant, seo-phao. The tung cha becomes sung quan, but his assistant is called tsa thao, as above. Finally, in the rather large settlement of Phu Yen on the Black River, the chief of the great tribe bears the title hong ly.

Several of these titles refer to military functions, which tends to prove that in certain of their migrations the Meo must have organized themselves along military lines by force of arms. Ma phai means "he who keeps account of the horses"; ping tau, "troop commander"; and tung cha, "at the side of the chief of the canton."

Section 6

Economic State--Agriculture, Industry, Commerce

241 Thanks to his energy and diligence in working, the Meo
311 succeeds in improving and in drawing the maximum returns from a region where there are more rocks than arable land. It is indeed a curious sight to see him lead his ox and plough across a veritable chaos of black rocks which sometimes leave only a meagre square meter of land between them. At each step the plough turns up a bit of rock which the tireless ploughman goes without delay and carries to the nearest heap of stones.

The principal crop is maize with which the Meo covers every bit of tillable land, the flanks of mountains and the bottoms of cirques or, at least, the thousand little pockets of humus which lie in the
241 spaces between the rocks. Seeds sown in April can be harvested in August. The Meo does not fertilize the soil all over. He is satisfied to spread a handful of manure at the precise spot where he plants his three grains of maize. Between the period of sowing and of harvest, the ground is cultivated three or four times, at first with a spade when the plant is scarcely out of the ground, then with the plough when it is larger. At harvest time maize is carried in /139/ pack-baskets and arranged in piles in the granaries, or hung in bunches of seven or

252 face, crowned with the halo of their wide turban, and a throat panting
243 with the effort just accomplished, together with their ballerina skirts
462 flapping about their bare legs-- the general effect of all this at the foot of a rocky cliff makes a picture to tempt the brush of a Millet.

Section 7

Way of Life--Intellectual State-- Religious Ideas--Custom Relating to Birth, Marriage, and Death--Religious Ideas

181 The Meo likes his independence very much. However, he is
177 less uncouth than the Man in his dealings with the French. It is not
●609 impossible to make a soldier of him and the creation of the small posts,
701 linh co, of this race have been entirely successful. In 1904 about forty of them were incorporated into the "Tonkinese Tirailleurs" at Bao Lac, but this attempt gave less satisfactory results because of their antipathy to life in the barracks. In the future we should be satisfied with having them enter the police forces of the frontier.

871 The Meo, while somewhat crude, are not entirely without
153 intelligence. A school was founded in March 1903 at the military post of Phobang, made up of young Meo and Lolo, and at the end of a year most of them, and especially the Lolo, already were reading correctly and were beginning to write little phrases in French. From this experiment one might at last conclude that these peoples are capable of a certain intellectual culture.

262 /141/ The Meo's method of living is of the simplest. His usual
252 food is maize, he eats meat only on the occasion of festivities, but
415 then he is not forbidden to eat the flesh of the dog, as are the Man. Maize is cooked by steaming. It is eaten at home with an abundance of vegetables, but for meals while traveling, or in the fields, small cakes are made of it. A porcelain spoon is the only instrument used in bringing food to the mouth.

276 Although the cultivation of the opium poppy is very widespread
[249] among the Meo, he uses very little of it himself. On the other hand, almost all smoke tobacco, either in a water pipe, or in a pipe similar to our own. The tobacco prepared by them looks like French tobacco, but is very much stronger. Neither men nor women chew betel. Far
301 from lacquering their teeth, they take a certain pride in having them
515 brilliantly white and go so far as to carry their tooth-brushes hanging from their necklaces.

Miao AE5
Akha A04

/57 cont./

M 854 [482] Abadie (1), while discussing the carrying of burdens on the back,

1. Page 160.

also mentions the child-carriers of the Meau: "This method of carrying loads is also used for small children, whom the women hoist on their backs, packed in a kind of bag that is held on the shoulders by means of two supports." Abadie published illustrations of this on Plates 39 and 40 of his work. There are no cradles.

A M 855 Among the Akha small children are cared for by the parents, among the Meau chiefly by the grandparents. Older siblings also devote much time to them and are often entrusted with the care of somewhat bigger children. From six to eight years of age they are taken into the children's group (see the section, "The Children's Group," in this chapter).

A M [868] [867] In both tribes much time is devoted to the children. The mother attempts to teach her child a few words at an early age; she begins with the expression for father and mother. Thus, from a young age the child has continual social contact all day long. Accordingly the social components are more strongly developed than among European children of the same age. The

M 114 855 situation is therefore nothing like what Lajonquière (2) writes

2. II, p. 315.

about the children of the Meau: /58/ "They grow up without supervision and moral education, a prey to their instincts, and are forced into hard work in the fields as soon as their age permits them to do work."

A M 857 [609] [867] [157] [123] The children learn very early to distinguish between family and tribal members and persons who are foreign to the tribe. They are not bashful, but are very curious, and because of these qualities become very annoying to strangers after a brief acquaintanceship. On the other hand, they do not like to be watched while they go about their own business. Thus it came about that everywhere and in no time we were the focal point of the children, who crowded around us in droves and

/191 cont./

787 If a Meau dreams that his house is on fire or that he is fleeing, it bodes ill fortune for the inhabitants of the house in which the sleeper is resting. It is likewise unfavorable to dream of tigers or an inundation. Misfortune is likewise imminent if in a dream a tree, a horse, or a cow falls.

If in a dream one sees people engaged in pounding rice, /192/ then all depends on the color of the rice. If it is white, it is regarded as a good omen, whereas black rice is regarded as a bad omen.

Special good luck is indicated by dreams in which one sees a hen with many chicks or people in new clothes, or shallow water, or if one dreams that a new year has begun.

787 851 Besides the attention given to the omens described and others, and to dreams and soothsaying, an oracle /Ordal, literally "ordeal," but used here in the sense of "oracle"/ is also consulted among the Meau, as was described above in connection with the conjurations by the shaman in the chapter, "Life in the Community," the section on "Naming and Admission into the Family Community." [123] It will be recalled that in every case my presence in the village, as that of an influential stranger, was regarded as a good omen, and, after the oracle had been consulted, I was asked to be the sponsor of the newborn little boy. At that time, the chicken oracle was used, whose procedure I have already described. If the skin on the head of one or both animals of the sacrificed pair of chickens had been black or spotted black, if the hyoid bones of one of the animals had not been parallel or if the chickens' toes had not run together toward the front, but instead had stood out sideways, especially the first or third toe, everybody would have been convinced that the ancestors would not be able to protect the child against the evil spirits that were present and that these would have to be exorcised before the child could be received into the family community. On the other hand, if two of the omens had been good and one bad, this would have been regarded as a warning sign, indicating that great caution was needed. In [609] such case any stranger would have been denied entry into the 787 house of the newborn baby. Thus, as this witnessed example indicates, among the Meau there is a direct connection between

/230 cont./

364 Most authors who had an opportunity to visit the Meau in their villages stress this lack of hygiene. Lajonquière (1), for instance,

1. II, 306.

also describes the condition of the area between the dwellings and the stables: "The ground has become bottomless from the treading of the domestic animals. Filth accumulates and mixes with the earth, sometimes to a depth of 80 centimeters or a meter. In order to enter the house of the Meau chief in the region of Pakha... one of the wealthiest in the area, one had to cross a sea of filth seven to eight meters wide completely surrounding it. There were not only feces of the animals, but waste water from the kitchen and refuse of all kinds were thrown even directly in front of the door. The tree trunks in the midst of it did not permit one to cross this seat of infection without danger of slipping." The same author (2) also emphasizes the

[264]

2. Page 304.

nauseating dirt which clings to all the eating utensils and kitchen implements. Abadie (3) in similar words confirms the conditions

3. Page 157.

in the villages described by Lajonquière.

Savina (4), too, discusses these conditions: "All their lives

4. II, p. 205.

[609] they drink fresh water and breathe clean air. Whenever a
[356] stranger comes, the house is swept clean. All the children go
[291] naked. When they become ill, they are smeared with mud. The
[757] lack of hygiene takes its toll in many sicknesses: rheumatism,
[164] bronchitis, fever, abcesses, mange, and herpes."

AKha A04
Miao AE5

A
M /460 cont./
147 somewhat soft /461/ and plaintive, especially in comparison
M with the Akha women, who are superior to them in hardiness, as
147 these people generally are in relation to the Meau. I found
482 among the Meau of both sexes particularly good and reliable
[609] porters, though, in general, they perform portef-service for strangers very unwillingly. After they had once declared themselves ready to come to terms, however, the men as well as the women, without another word, took on loads up to 50 kilograms, walked along with these on their backs so rapidly that we could hardly keep up with them, and steadfastly kept their promise.

M The opposite of this pronounced mountain-folk character
147 of the Meau is formed by their valley-dwelling neighbors, the
181 Lao and the Schan /Shan/, who represent typical tropical peo-
171 ple of the valley lowlands. They are accustomed to having Nature pour everything from her horn of plenty into their laps without any effort, they love idleness, and they are lazy and indolent, for a single annual harvest abundantly feeds the family. They, too, are cheerful, but unreliable and flighty. The Lao were indeed easy to persuade to serve as porters, but they would complain even if the loads weighed only 18 kilograms and usually ran away after one day!

M The Meau treat women and children, as well as the
576 subordinates and unfree (see the chapter, "Social Organization," the section, "Age Classes, Secret Societies, Rank Organization") well throughout and are courteous to superiors without being
M humble. Abadie (1) also points out: "The Meau women are
157

1. Page 151.

cheerful, gay, and not very shy, especially when they have acquired confidence."

M Among one another the Meau are very friendly and
571 have a pronounced property sense. Whereas with regard to foreign
[648] people any violation of their property rights immediately arouses
[652] their warlike instincts, among the unmarried lads even the female sex cannot provoke any deep enmities; for these reasons duels
M are unknown. Such behavior is quite plausible in view of their
577

/466 cont./

576 The maintenance of good manners is observed in a way [514] that we found very pleasant. It is regarded as indecent to perform one's private functions before others, to break wind, or to [264] belch during meals, and as impossible to spit during meals. [832] Furthermore, it is regarded as improper to exchange caresses in public or to be seen doing so, or to converse about sexual matters. [521] Thus, it is not permissible for a young man to divulge the name [602] of the girl whose love he has enjoyed, or to conduct erotic conversations before relatives. Moreover, it is not proper for [562] women to appear before strangers. They are not to be seen at [609] all in the presence of visitors, and it took a long time before [125] the women and girls of the Meau abandoned their reserve toward us.

574 Visitors, on the other hand, violate good manners if
576 they enter a house immediately. They must first announce their presence outside and await an invitation by a male occupant. Only if no men, but only women are present may the visitor enter immediately. On the other hand, in contrast to so many peoples, it is quite in keeping with good form if a guest inquires about the wife and children of the host. As has already been pointed out (see the chapter, "Food and Stimulants," the section, [562] "Food"), the family members eat together as a rule, but in no case the women before the men, since that is regarded as improper. The young girls also wait at the table for what is left over for them.

At common meals for both sexes, nothing is changed [264] when a single good friend of the family eats with them. Only then the guest, along with the family, has to observe a series [273] of rules likewise mentioned previously. For example, a man may not drink to the health of a strange woman or of a female against whom there are incest prohibitions, just as it is likewise [832] generally prohibited for girls to pour alcohol for a young man, if they do not wish to express an unmistakable invitation by it. This also applies to married women who therefore may pour brandy only for their husbands. In this connection, the taboo regulations /467/ must, of course, also be observed (see the chapter, "Life in the Community," the sections, "Marriage Obstacles and Regulations" and "Old Age and Death").

61

61 KIN GROUPS--general statements dealing with several specific types of kin groups. In every society, individuals maintain interpersonal relationships, characterized by particular kinship terms and culturally patterned behavior, with each type of relative recognized by the prevailing kinship system. In addition, an individual is normally affiliated with one or more kin groups, each consisting of some, but not all, of his relatives. By "descent" is meant a cultural rule defining the types of relatives with whom an individual is affiliated in a kin group. It need not, and commonly does not, imply that these relatives are more closely akin to him than are those who do not belong to the same group. The major types of kin groups are defined at the beginning of the appropriate categories below.

/32 cont'd/
539 auspicious. Ming-k'ai had four sons: Lin Te-chen, Lin Te-lung,
601 Lin Te-sheng, and Lin Te-ch'ao. /X-X had only one/* son Lin

/* This paragraph is obviously a repetition of the statement which was cited on p. 4, but the two Chinese texts cited by the author are slightly different. /

Lao-chang, who was born at noon time, on the twenty-first day of the seventh month of the year of Keng-sheng; Lin Lao-chang had a son, Lin Sheng-yüan, who was born in the hour of ch'en /7 to 9 A.M./ on the fifteenth day of the third month in the year of Keng-wu."

602 With this kind of family register, although a family has increased and scattered to different places, the relationship of the family members is maintained without interruption. Consequently, those of the same surname related by blood are forever connected and the awareness of the kin group is very deeply rooted. There were a number of Miao who were able to tell us in great detail about the localities from which they had migrated and distant localities in which they still had many cousins living. The Miao headman, Mr. Wang Fu-shou of Pao-ch'a village in Ta-ch'i, frequently called me lao-tsung /"venerable kinsman"/. /The author, Wang Hsing-jui, has the same surname./ This was an expression of a feeling of kin group relationship. Since the kin group consciousness still exists, it is very natural that the feelings of the people of the same surname thus extend even to those not closely related.

[221] Since their livelihood is chiefly dependent upon farming on the
●61 mountain slopes, with great mobility of their population, the body of the kin group can never be permanently /33/ established. As time passes on and as the distance between their homes becomes gradually greater, the originally close blood relationship, therefore, also becomes more and more distant. On the other hand, the relationship between those of different surnames becomes closer

/33 cont'd/
61 through frequent contacts and mutual interests. It is possible for this relationship to be even closer than that between those of the same surname who live far apart.

61 In summarizing, all subjective conditions necessary for the
121 development of the Miao kin group seem to have fully matured.
[[71]] Their social organization will change once their economic life takes on a new direction. As far as this point is concerned, Miao society seems more advanced than Li society.

3. The Village

621 There is usually a village on every hill. The village is the most important center of the Miao social organization. It is not only a natural unit within certain geographic limits but also a community of common economic life. This point will be reserved for discussion in the next section. Now let us look at the external appearance of the village and its other aspects and activities.

[618 There are two kinds of villages: one is the village consisting
592] of two or more surnames; the other consists of only one. The former type forms the large majority. A large village usually consists of more than ten or more families; a small one consists of several
[361 families. Their houses are close to each other in a cluster. The
311] village is usually encircled by a wood or bamboo fence in which there is a gate, but there are also villages which are unenclosed,
622 without fence or gate. The cultivable mountain land is always outside the village; inside the village there are only a few vegetable gardens. The headman of the village today is called chia-ch'ang /"head of a chia, or 100 families"/ or pao-ch'ang /"head of a pao, or 10 chia"/; (for detailed information consult the author's previous work, Report on an Investigation of the Li of Hainan Island). Before the pao-chia system was put into practice in the Miao and Li region by the government, the headman of a village, it is said, was called shan-chia /"mountain chief"/. /34/ This position was usually filled by an older man elected by the villagers. The qualifications for this position were ability to read Chinese, knowledge, experience, and Taoist persuasion. It is not definitely established